UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Homo Sapiens—Ford or Rolls Royce

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

Exhibitions by Oriental Students

By FREDERICK STARR

The Story of My Mind. III

By GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

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Contents

EDITORIAL—

Notes 35
Homo Sapiens—Ford or Rolls Royce.—ALSON H. ROBINSON 38
Jottings.—J. H. H..... 39
Editorial Correspondence: Exhibitions by Oriental Students.—FREDERICK STARR..... 39

ARTICLES—

Bernard Shaw on Outlawry.—*Herman Bernstein* 35
The Story of My Mind. III.—GEORGE WILLIS COOKE 40
Mr. Levinson on the League and the World Court 42
A Speech to Children.—*Mrs. Naidu*..... 44

THE STUDY TABLE—

A New Book on Russia.—J. H. H..... 45

CORRESPONDENCE—

Borglum as Agent of the Fates.—BRADLEY STONE 46
The Civil War Again.—RUTH S. BALDWIN..... 46
One Last War?—DIANA AGABEG APCAR..... 46
The Radio and the Churches.—*J. H. McKinney* 46

THE FIELD—

International Fellowship of Reconciliation..... 47

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCV MONDAY, MARCH 16, 1925 NUMBER 3

BERNARD SHAW ON OUTLAWRY

"Do you take this [the peace movement] seriously? I have passed through this peace wave several times. I recall one peace meeting in particular. It took place a few years ago. I believe Sir Arthur Conan Doyle presided at that meeting. I was an invalid and came to the meeting on crutches. They talked of peace there. Everybody was in a peaceful frame of mind. People were sending Christmas cards to one another. Though I was on crutches, I believe I smashed that meeting. You see, we were building torpedo boats at the time, and anyone who would have dared to be opposed to our building those torpedo boats would have been mobbed.

"International war will be stopped some day as duels have been stopped. All countries should combine, and the one that fires the first shot should be dealt with severely. But all this talk at present is nonsense."

—Shaw, as quoted by Herman Bernstein.

At last we are beginning at the right end. Raymond Robins, addressing delegates of the Department of Superintendents of the National Education Association Convention recently held in Cincinnati, told his hearers that we must begin to educate our youth in such a way as to outlaw war. Said he:

> An informed and definite public opinion in America and throughout the world demanding the outlawry of the war system must be created, and war must be outlawed by international agreement and made a crime under the law of nations. Always the successful method of liberating society from the effects of an outgrown legal institution has been to outlaw the institution and make its exercise a public crime. Active pressure of public opinion on officials in power in all governments, through demonstrations, letters, resolutions and votes, is necessary to bring about an international conference and mutual treaty outlawing war with the ratification of people of all nations.

Once teach this to the school children and we will do what we did with the saloon and legalized prostitution. We venture a guess as to what will happen to the school teacher who first attempts to teach this to her class. Traitor! Rebel! Pro-German! will be the names she will bear. But what of it? Garrison they dragged through the streets, and Lowell was stoned; but did that cause slavery to win? After all, it is the leaven working silently in an unnoticed way that finally makes the bread fit to eat. Likewise must the leaven of such unnoticed lives make this world a fit place in which children may be born.

Three cheers for Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt! Here is one woman who had the courage to tell the world that America was as guilty of the late war as were Germany or Austria. Speaking before a recent convention of the World Alliance for International Friendship at Palm Beach, Florida, Mrs. Catt told the delegates "that the people who made up the armies were sure they were fighting a war of defense, when in reality that was only propaganda handed out by the governments to justify war." Again she said, "Patriotism which formerly meant love of country, now means a constant preparation for war. A pacifist formerly was a person who believed in peace. Now he is a traitor who would not oppose the overthrow of our government, but a person who holds with the communists, or some other group which we do not like." In this same address our school histories came in for a share of criticism. She insisted that parents in particular should see to it "whether the truth was being taught there, or whether their children were absorbing the statements that are the common duping of the entire world." Once let the women get their hands on this war business, and there will be a lot of crowns, uniforms and brass buttons for sale, cheap!

We have to confess to profound discouragement over the prospects of the progressive political movement in this country. The first results of the November election disappointed us acutely, but we speedily rallied, for were not 5,000,000 votes cast from conviction, and was not the new party not third but second in the vast territory west of the Mississippi? But this good cheer was only momentary, for the organization which had done so magnificently in the campaign under La Follette's leadership, began speedily to disintegrate. The present situation was pathetically revealed at the recent Chicago convention. The American Federation of Labor, "dubs" as usual in all things political, were no longer in the game. The railroad men also were on the side-lines. Organized labor in this country, in other words, is shown once again to be a sham. It has no intelligence, no courage, no vision. Its interest is focussed not upon great and fundamental programs of reform, like the British Labor Party, for example, but upon silly inconsequentialities about wages, hours, etc. Furthermore, it is high time that we came to understand that organized labor is just as much engaged in the business of public exploitation in this country as organized capital. The unions will hold up the nation any

time, if this gives them an extra thirty cents per hour. Labor has no interest in progress, no concern for reform, no passion for social justice. It is interested exclusively in its own petty and selfish affairs at any expense of public welfare and happiness. That's the reason why labor as such is simply "no good" in politics. The same thing is true of the farmers! One knows not whether to be more amazed at their stupidity or their selfishness. Think of the way they have been robbed and misused generally—think of what they ought to know of modern economic processes—think of the free education lavished upon them in recent years by the Non-Partisan League and other agencies—and yet when the price of wheat this last summer was manipulated up a few cents per bushel for election purposes, these farmers tumbled over themselves to stay regular with the Republicans! The Socialist movement, once so well organized and militant, is now of course utterly demoralized. It is "down and out," for the present at least, and thus had little influence, as it was shown little courtesy and consideration, at the Chicago gathering. As for the so-called liberals or intellectuals, they are like disincarnate spirits, generals without an army, leaders with no followers. It is a grim, glum prospect. Well may the tories exult. The world is theirs, to do with it as they may best desire.

Europe has lost two of its most important and distinguished statesmen in the deaths of Branting of Sweden and Ebert of Germany. Both were Socialists of the more moderate type, and both expended heroic labor and devoted purpose on the reconstruction of the shattered structure of European society. Branting dealt primarily with the general world problem as focussed in the League of Nations at Geneva. He believed in the League and did as much as any man of his time to give it such measure of vitality as it ever attained. One would like to know whether his faith was able to sustain itself to the end! Ebert, on the other hand, was concerned pretty exclusively with Germany, of which he had been President ever since the establishment of the Republic. His difficulties were enormous. His government, born of defeat and revolution, was new, untried, and desperately weak. It was hated and opposed by extremists on both sides—the Monarchists on the Right, the Communists and more radical Socialists on the Left. Economic and industrial conditions were more terrible than any encountered by any highly developed country of modern times. The Allies, who should have understood and helped him, did nothing but embarrass and humiliate him. That amid all these trials, he held his country together, maintained his government, steadily strengthened German prestige, and all without the slightest trace of dictatorship and tyranny, proves the genuine capacity of his statesmanship. The personal heroism and sacrifice involved are attested by his collapse and death. We shall be surprised if future historians do not rate Ebert among the ablest as well as noblest of the post-war leaders.

Just how President Ebert's work will endure in Germany, or whether it will endure at all, is one of the momentous questions precipitated by his death. The passing of such a man, with conditions still in such a state of uncertainty obviously shakes the structure of the young Republic like an earthquake. The Monarchists are certain to regard this as their opportunity to start a drive against all of the Republican groups, and unless these groups find a way of getting together, this drive may produce serious results. Not since the invasion of the Ruhr has anything transpired in Europe quite so important as what is now going on in Germany. One would think that at such a time the Allies would do everything in their power to ease the situation, or at least keep hands off, but France seems utterly unrepentant and is going right ahead in the execution of her blood-and-iron policy, just as though nothing had happened or Premier Herriot did not know better. Before President Ebert had been buried, Marshal Foch had published with a great flourish of trumpets his cock-and-bull story about Germany being fully armed for the next war. A newspaper dispatch states that Foch made his report "more as a statesman than as a military expert." No more pertinent comment on the value of this report as testimony could be made, for the distinguished marshal knows as little about statesmanship as the average statesman knows about military affairs. The fact is, the man in the saddle is at the head of things in France, and this means consequences in Germany of which one dreads to think. If the Monarchists get control, which seems unlikely, and really begin to get ready for the next war, and at some time or other precipitate that war, there will be nobody quite so fully and directly responsible as post-war France.

In our issue for January 26th last, we commented on a statement by Mahatma Gandhi on Russian Bolshevism. In this statement which we quoted in part, Gandhi confessed his sympathy with and admiration for the worthy motives of the Bolsheviks, but added that in so far as Bolshevism was based on violence and the denial of God, it repelled him.

> "There is really no meeting ground," he said, "between the school of violence and myself . . . for experience convinces me that permanent good can never be the outcome of untruth and violence."

In the January 1st issue of Gandhi's organ, *Young India,* recently received in this country, an Indian adherent of Bolshevism takes the Mahatma to task for his expression of dissent. This correspondent, Mr. M. N.

Roy, points out, correctly we believe, that Gandhi's purposes, along certain lines at least, are the same as those of the Bolsheviks.

"By his own declaration," says Mr. Roy, "the Mahatma desires to see the masses free from the domination of capitalism. Well, Bolshevism does not propose anything more monstrous."

The difference between the Gandhi and the Lenin gospel pertains not to ends but to means.

"The difference between the Mahatma and the Bolsheviks," continues Mr. Roy, "is that in the hands of the former this gospel of freedom loses all practical value, being subordinated to an intricate conception of morality, religion and God, while the latter do not permit their vision to be clouded by illusion, but deal wth the world as it is. The result is that while Bolshevism forges ahead, breaking one link after another of the mighty chain of time-honored servitude, . . . Gandhism gropes in the dark, spinning out ethical and religious dogmas that only prevent the masses from developing the will to fight for freedom."

Mr. Roy accuses the Mahatma of living in the age of the Utopian socialism of St. Simon and declares, in contrast, that the Bolsheviks have moved forward into the age of scientific socialism as exemplified by Karl Marx. He commends the latters as constituting "the militant and initial stage of victory," and calls upon his countrymen to enter upon it forthwith.

This controversy, if we may call it such, between Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Roy, presents in concrete form the difference that inheres between Bolshevism on the one hand, and Gandhism on the other. Both are seeking the same end, the emancipation of mankind to the more abundant life of body, mind and spirit; but whereas the former adopts the realistic method of force and dictatorial power, the latter clings to the idealistic method of non-resistance and spiritual discipline. As we look over the world today, we see before us in full action no less than three great methods of reform. All are aimed at the same goal, but each follows a different path of advancement toward that goal. At the extreme Right, strangely enough, stands Bolshevism with its resort to the time-honored weapons of force and violence. The Soviets are attempting to win men, as the conquerors of former days have sought to win them, by the sheer power of conquest. At the extreme Left stands Gandhi with his method of non-resistance. He is attempting to do what Jesus did—namely, to win the hearts of men by the sheer power of love, and thus lift them to the level of his own perfect sanctity. In the Center, occupying the middle ground, stands the British Labor Party, appealing neither to force nor to non-resistance, but utilizing to the full the political weapon of democratic parliamentary procedure. We know of nothing more fascinating today than these three laboratory experiments in the great endeavor to win emancipation for mankind. We sympathize supremely with all three movements, since the motives of all are the highest, and the common end of all is the one thing alone worth working and praying for today. We are seeking to defend all three movements from their enemies, and to help them to such success as may be possible. But, from the standpoint of the relation of means to ends, from the standpoint of efficiency in terms of the relation between cost and gain, pre-eminently from the standpoint of ethical and spiritual ideals of the soul, we give our first allegiance to the great Mahatma. He sees the goal as others see it, but he alone has found the one true way. To fail in his way is to make a larger contribution to the ultimate destiny of mankind than to succeed in either of the other ways.

We have seldom read a more touching story than that published in a recent issue of the Boston *Herald* describing a radio concert broadcast from the Charlestown State Prison in Massachusetts. The inmates of this grim dungeon, organized into an orchestra and a chorus, sent forth music to their fellow-men listening in by uncounted thousands in the outside world of freedom. The concert opened with an overture by the band. This was followed by Verdi's "All Hail, Our Native Land" sung by the prison choir of twenty-five voices. After a few other pieces came irony and tragedy of almost incredible description, for a chance fire in the vicinity of the prison burned out the connections, and the concert could not be continued. But enough had been heard to constitute something like an epoch in the minds of many people.

"The souls of men escaped from prison last night," wrote the *Herald* reporter, with a justifiable touch of sentiment. "Their bodies remained caged in grim granite but out into the perfect night their souls went. On the wings of radio they sent a message, and there in the firmament their real selves roamed and showered down upon a countryside an hour or so of pure melody."

What may this not mean, spiritually! Here is communication established between the prison and the outer world. The crime and pity of our age-old system of legal punishment is in the utter severance between society and its victims. The former sends its offenders out of sight and hearing, and forgets them; the latter are buried alive, and lose hope. Now suddenly, as by some miracle, the severance is ended, the gulf is bridged, and society and its victims are in touch again. There is one world in the spirit, if not actually in the flesh! We would not ourselves wax sentimental over this event. But we have so long been bowed down by despair over the prison problem, that we clutch desperately at any sign of change. So surely as the spirit of man is mighty, may not radio prove to be the long-lost key to justice and pity?

Homo Sapiens—Ford or Rolls Royce

The approaching celebration of the 100th anniversary of the American Unitarian Association gives point to a treasonable question concerning the opinions of William Ellery Channing. His "one sublime idea" revealed to him, book in hand, beneath a clump of willows on a Cambridge meadow, was the "greatness of the human soul." Really a person ought to think well of his fellowmen under such circumstances. Not to do so speaks very badly for one's own personal disposition.

Channing not only felt very deeply this sense of reverence for human nature, he also articulated it in terms of rare beauty and eloquence. It will do no harm to quote a familiar passage embodying this conviction:

> I do and I must reverence human nature . . . I know its history. I shut my eyes to none of its weaknesses and crimes . . . But the signatures of its origin and its end are impressed too deeply to be ever wholly effaced. I bless it for its kind affections, for its strong and tender love. I honor it for its struggles against oppression, for its growth and progress under the weight of so many chains and prejudices, for its achievements in science and art, and still more for its examples of heroic and saintly virtue. These are marks of a divine origin, and the pledges of a celestial inheritance.

All this was a natural and healthy reaction to the gloomy theology of his day. With quite as much skill and eloquence Jonathan Edwards pictured man as a worm of the dust, depraved from the start, a sinner in the hands of an angry God.

Which was right—Channing or Edwards? Did Channing come any nearer to the true measure of man than Edwards? There are two things of which we may be reasonably certain. One is that human nature is not so bad as Edwards painted it nor so exalted as Channing fondly imagined. The other thing is that if we are to learn anything about human nature, all this theological drapery of every sort must be thrown away, permitting it to stand before us as it is, not as we should like to see it.

Let's get this man of Channing's down out of the clouds and look at him not generically, but as an individual. What do we see? First the anthropologist will answer. He will tell us that this man began as a bit of undifferentiated protoplasm; and passed through all the reptilian, bird, and fish-like stages which we see represented in the lives of his lower progenitors on the earth today. Somewhere in the neighborhood of three or four or five thousand years ago this man started out on an individual career slightly differentiated from the lower animals and certainly a good deal lower than the angels. Chiefly will the anthropologist insist that to know our man we must see the beginnings of his language and art and social organization, primitive industry and religion.

Presently the biologist and embryologist will press forward with testimony about our man. They will insist upon our hearing about a delicate and complicated pre-natal process in which there is recapitulation of the entire life history of the lower animals and of man from the very beginning.

Again the chemist will demand higher respect for the endocrine glands in the development of personality. He is going to insist that if the thymus gland continues to function when in the course of human events it ought to retire and give the pituitary a chance, you will have an individual conforming very badly to the magnificent pattern of Channing's idealism.

From such and many other witnesses one must draw his testimony as to the raw materials out of which human nature is created, or by means of which it has to express itself. So far as the issue between the Calvinists and Channing is concerned, it still stands wide open. No prudent man who knows the facts will allow himself to become dogmatic. Man may be only a Ford, as the Calvinists insist. He may be the Rolls Royce of Channing's exalted appraisal. But if he is a Rolls Royce we want to stop treating him like a Ford. Furthermore, the analogy suggests an advantage which the disciples of Channing will readily grasp to the effect that life is not a mechanism but an organism capable apparently of indefinite development so that what man is not now he may yet become. Therefore we must answer that we do not know whether Dr. Channing was right or wrong. Time alone will tell.

In the above quotation from the great pioneer of religious liberty, there is a single sentence which stands out in sharp contrast with certain contemporary developments. Speaking of human nature Dr. Channing says, "I honor it for its struggles against oppression, for its growth and progress under the weight of so many chains and prejudices." Now is this precisely the thing that happens? Does it struggle against oppression, or move forward under the weight of prejudices? Not very much. In a recent statement by Dean Inge on "Religion in the Future" he is weighing the comparative possibilities of the survival of Protestantism and of the Roman church. He is not at all certain of Roman supremacy, but he feels that it would be equally rash to assume that a religion of magic, miracle, and idolatry can not succeed in the twentieth century. There has been too much of a revival of the lower kinds of religion during and since the great war to substantiate the confidence of Channing. Concerning Catholicism itself the Dean says that,

> Its strength is that it is well adapted to a stage of human culture which is likely always to be well represented, even in civilized communities. It corresponds with an idea of religion which was old before Christianity was young.

All honor to the pioneers of religious liberty who have staked their spiritual fortunes on the grandeur of human nature. Let not their successors today, if such there be, and there are many, fondly imagine that the task is finished.

Alson H. Robinson.

Jottings

It is the testimony of Dr. Christian F. Reisner that there are thirty-six fewer Protestant churches in Manhattan to-day than there were twenty-five years ago. Meanwhile the population of this part of New York City has grown during this quarter of a century—how much?

Unconscious humor, after all, is the best there is! What could be funnier, for example, than the *Atlantic Monthly's* perfectly serious printing of an article on *the late* Samuel Gompers in its department, "The New World"?

Mr. Frank Crowninshield declares that "in four departments of life and the arts America is supreme"—namely, "architecture, interior decoration, musical revues, and advertising." To be sure! When we build a cathedral, we copy the Middle Ages. When we decorate an interior, we produce an Imperial Suite or a Louis XIV Drawing Room. With our advertising we ruin every city skyline and every rural landscape. And a musical revue is—*art!* We live to learn.

Rev. Harry Taylor, in a letter from Australia, tells an amusing story of the Hon. Samuel Mauger, late Postmaster General. He was electioneering, and he had to stay over Sunday in a small hamlet in the backwoods. He attended church, and listened to a preacher who had a "dragnet" prayer. As the preacher came to the end of his appeal, he said,

> We have a stranger in our midst this morning, O Lord. He desires to get into Parliament. If it be thy will, O Lord, put him in Parliament. But if it be not thy will, O Lord, keep him out of Parliament. For Christ's sake, Amen.

The Japanese are considering a bill excluding Americans from rights of land ownership in the Empire. It is proposed that this ban shall be applied especially to citizens who are residents of States of the United States which deny similar rights to citizens of Japan. This sounds like business! Sauce for the goose may well be sauce for the gander also.

DEFINITION.—*Non-resistance,* the policy of resisting evil on the plane *not* of physical but of intellectual and spiritual force. J. H. H.

Exhibitions by Oriental Students

Editorial Correspondence

Whatever may be true of students from other countries of Asia, those from China, Korea and Japan usually come to us with an exaggerated idea of American greatness and achievement. This is necessarily accompanied by an underestimate of their own lands. They expect perfection here. They have been so accustomed to unfavorable comparisons and criticisms from missionaries, teachers and traders, that they approach our conditions with a feeling that almost approaches awe and reverence. The more thoughtful are soon disillusioned; the less thoughful may be disappointed, but assume that their imaginary picture is true, but that they happened to come to the wrong school or the wrong region to find it. There still lingers, however, something of that sense of inferiority that they brought with them, and while they see the seamy places in our life, they are likely to cherish the old feeling of contempt for their own. They are apt to refer but little to their native countries and to make little or no claim for their national achievement.

It is then a sign of health in thought and judgment, when these Oriental students make well balanced and legitimate assertion of the claims of their nations to respect. Such assertion they are now making. The result should be a better understanding. A proper self-respect begets respect. One method of such assertion is a public exhibition, prepared by students to show fellow-students and the school community something of their home conditions. Two such have been recently held with excellent result.

The first was a Korean exhibition at Oberlin. There are four Korean girl students in that institution. A year or so ago, there gathered about them as a nucleus and centre of interest a group of twenty-two persons, calling themselves the *Korean Fellowship.* Their set purpose is to raise a fund for keeping a needy Korean girl student continuously at Oberlin. They decided to hold a *Korean Exhibition.* This took place late last year. Loan of Korean articles was solicited from all parts of the United States and a considerable range of objects was brought together. Among the things displayed were articles of dress for men, women and children—shoes, hats, ornaments, embroideries and pictures, tools, utensils, vessels and dishes, and books. Photographs, lantern-lectures and personal explanation of the displays were employed to make the impression definite and vivid. A considerable attendance was brought out, much interest was aroused, and a beginning of the fund was secured.

The other exhibition was in Seattle. It was made by the Chien Society, five young Chinese men students in the University of Washington. The earnestness of these boys in working "for the betterment of China" and "to cement a feeling of friendship between China and other nations" is shown by the fact "that they have voluntarily obligated themselves to pay into the treasury of the society ten per cent of their incomes during their lives." Their exhibition was called the *Chinese Art and Industrial Exhibition.* Months of time, much labor, and considerable money were expended upon it. Some exhibits were ordered from China. Appeals were made to citizens of Seattle, who had objects of Chinese art, to assist by loaning their treasures. The result was beyond all expectation. The Exposition continued for one week, from January 1 to January 7 inclusive. It was held in Seattle's largest and newest hotel, where three adjoining

suitable rooms were furnished. The collections were handsomely arranged in the largest of these. The second room was used as a tea-room where Chinese tea and cakes were served by Chinese girls in costume. The third was used in the afternoons for Mah Jong, in the evenings for interesting programs. The exhibition was open daily from noon to ten at night; the tea-room from two to ten p. m.; the Mah Jong room from two to six p. m. The evening program ran from eight to ten and was different each night. A lecture on some Chinese subject by an American, an address by a Chinese, and pieces of music by Chinese were given in each program. Mr. Ben Dun, who came from China only a few days before, gave a demonstration each evening before the regular program of the curious Chinese finger-painting. The crowds came out. The exhibition was visited by hundreds every day and at the evening programs, as many stood at the doors in the hall outside as found seats in the room itself. Mr. Paul Cheng, who was general manager and upon whom a heavy burden of responsibility rested, deserves great credit for a most successful undertaking. It is safe to say that nothing has done more to impress the people of Seattle with Chinese claims to respect than this exhibition.

Such expositions well carried through, whether on a large or a small scale, are a hopeful sign and will do much good.

FREDERICK STARR.

The Story of My Mind

III

One mile to the eastward of us was located the schoolhouse to which I went summer and winter throughout my boyhood. On the road, about half-way before reaching it, was to be seen the excavation where had been a previous house, built of logs, which my mother attended. The schoolhouse was a framed one, small in size, located on the townline between Comstock and Pavilion, though in the former town, and was painted a glaring red. We belonged to "Fractional District, No. 1, Comstock and Pavilion," which official phasing indicated that our school was located in two towns, and drew its children and its financial support from both.

Since we were about an eighth of a mile south of the townline on which the schoolhouse was located, and the road wended its way about a considerable pond, the real distance was fully one and one-quarter miles. In all kinds of weather we found our way to the school, and over roads which were by no means always pleasant to travel. I began my attendance when I was four years of age, and I was accompanied by my brother Charles, next younger than myself, who could have been no more than three at the outset of his school career. I was exceedingly timid, sensitive, and bashful, and I refused to attend school alone. My brother went with me, therefore, as my protector, though he was a year and a half my junior. I do not think he was troubled with timidity, and fear was not a part of his makeup. If he attended school at an early age, he did not much profit by it, since his mind did not turn in the direction of books or the acquisition of the knowledge therein imparted. On the other hand, he was much more than usually capable with regard to all kinds of farm work, and especially in the care and training of animals. No colt or steer was so wild that he could not easily tame it, and rapidly bring it into an attitude of docility and obedience.

From the very beginning of my being able to read, books were to me a delight and a passion. I could not get enough of them. The very sight of one made me restless until I had found out its contents. No one in the whole neighborhood possessed a book of any kind which I did not borrow and devour. One of our nearest neighbors, by the name of Osborn, had a volume of an old farm journal, the numbers of which were stitched together, and though it was several years old, I read it as if it belonged to the current year. The Mrs. Vorse I have already mentioned had a similar volume of some Mormon periodical, which I also borrowed and devoured, from the first torn page to the last.

Our school was taught in summer by a girl from a nearby family, and in winter by a man from some town not far remote. It was a rough and boisterous assembly of children and young persons who came together in the little schoolhouse each winter. The young men had no farm work to engage their attention, and they attended school rather for sport than because they were eager for an education. They made life irksome to the younger members of the school, and I was nearly always the butt of their pranks. Pins were thrust into me, my hair was pulled into a hole in the back of my desk and fastened there with a wooden plug, I was frequently threatened with a "licking," and I was frightened by the very presence of the several six-footers who made my life a torment. There were compensations, however, and I often listened with breathless interest to the recitations of the older pupils. Books now and then came my way, and I read through the "Arabian Nights" sitting at my desk, often with my forehead on the desk, and the book on my knees below. If I hid my surreptitious readings from the teacher in this manner, I do not know; but the book was read, much to my satisfaction.

Our teachers were of many kinds and capacities. In the summer the school was quiet and peaceable, and those who wished to learn had an opportunity for so doing. In winter the patience and skill of even the most robust man must have been tried to the extreme. There were threats of turning out the teacher by "the big boys," but this was never done, so far as my memory serves me. Some of our teachers were greatly successful in enlisting the interest of the pupils, but others failed in this direction, perhaps from physical rather than from mental defects or limitations of knowledge. One of them I grew very fond of, for he was a serious and thoughtful man, who was preparing for the ministry, and who labored faithfully to impart to us the knowledge he possessed. Another was pursuing his way through the study of the law, and he practiced on us his oratorical gifts every Friday afternoon. This was to me a welcome change from the "spelling-bee" or "spelling down," which was the usual variation in the exercises on the last afternoon of the week. This would-be lawyer talked to us eloquently about the objects of life, why we should strive to make something of ourselves, the worth of ambition and success, and pressed home some good practical moral

maxims of conduct. I drank in these orations with keenest delight, and with resolutions formed every week to profit by them. I suspect they were rather tedious to some of the other pupils, but I remember them with an appreciation even now warm and strong.

The teaching imparted in a country school-house, in a region not a quarter of a century away from the earliest settlement, cannot be assumed to have been in any manner excellent. Some of its pedagogic defects stand out in my mind as little less than blundering and inexcusable. I was eager to learn to write, to write grammatically and correctly; I gave much attention to grammar, which I pursued with an interest stimulated constantly by this desire. In all the instruction in grammar we had, there was not the slighest practice in the use of the English language. We studied Clark's "Grammar," with its elaborate system of "diagramming," or placing of words within circles so attached to each other as to indicate their relations in a sentence. We gave much attention to criticizing and analyzing sentences, but never one moment was spent in putting words together in speech or writing. Language is for use, not for analysis or criticism. That this simple fact had not then entered into the thoughts of teachers, and even less into their practice, seems to me now to have been quite inexcusable. Nearly all the teaching was purely that of memory, with little or no application to the actual facts of daily life. We recited out of a book, and we were asked to do nothing more than repeat it word for word. I suspect that all the teaching of that period, even in our older and best colleges, was of much the same order. I have never yet ceased to be indignant at the manner in which I was taught, for I was eager to learn, and I was taught only a little, and that very poorly.

However, what I did not get at school I did in some measure acquire from books. I read everything which came my way, from novels to scientific treatises. A Mrs. Wheeler, a daughter of the Mr. Tubbs already mentioned, who lived not far from us on the road to the schoolhouse, was a subscriber to the New York *Ledger*. Another member of the same family subscribed to the New York *Mercury*. I read these papers with avidity, and they were gladly loaned to me. In their pages I became acquainted with the works of Mrs. E. D. N. Southworth, and other novelists of the same type. In the *Ledger* I read Henry Ward Beecher's "Star Papers," as well as "The Mount Vernon Papers" of Edward Everett, which were begun in the autumn of 1858, and continued for one year, the proprietor paying $10,000 for them, that sum being contributed by Everett to the purchase of Mount Vernon as a national memorial.

When I was probably eight years old I persuaded my father to purchase a copy of "Robinson Crusoe." I suspect he did so to quiet my demands for the book. When I was deeply absorbed in reading it, my mother and her youngest sister Margaret, who probably died soon after, for I do not recall seeing or hearing of her afterwards, asked me if I believed all that I read in the book. I assured them with great confidence that I believed every word it contained. This testimony to the realism of Defoe was received with smiles and an evident incredulity; but these did not in the least lessen my enjoyment of the book.

Michigan was one of the first of the states to adopt a system of public libraries for its towns. About 1858, when I was ten years old, I persuaded my father to take me to the house, some two or three miles distant, where the library was kept. We were there informed that the last session of the legislature had distributed the town libraries to the school districts, with the expectation that they would be brought nearer to the people and more largely used. Soon after about fifty or one hundred volumes were apportioned to our district from each of the towns to which it belonged. These books I sought out and read, perhaps almost their only borrower, for I can remember no one else making use of them.

One of the books I secured was Rollin's "Ancient History," then regarded as an important historical work. Its accounts of Greek wars and implements of war I did not find entertaining; but I struggled on through more than half of the first volume, when I gave it up in despair. Several volumes of Chambers' "Miscellanies" were included in our quota of books, and these I read with the keenest interest. I read stories, accounts of adventures, biographical sketches, and scientific articles, with equal fidelity, though not with equal interest. I have never looked into those books since, but they were full of delight to me when I read them as a boy.

The work I found in these school libraries which most deeply interested me was Chambers' "Cyclopaedia of English Literature," published in Boston, in 1847, in two volumes of about 700 pages each. These volumes contained sketches of the several periods of that literature, short biographies of each of the writers of any note, with portraits and other illustrations, together with passages indicative of the literary style of all the more important authors. I read these volumes when I was not far from ten years of age; then, a little later, I read them again. Lying with face down on the floor of our living room, with one of these volumes opened before me, I drank in its contents with keenest interest, forgetful of everything else but the feast of reason, and of song, story, and eloquence, which was there spread out before me. I have never since read any other books with quite the same absorbed delight, the same sense of a new and marvellous world of beauty and enjoyment, or with a like feeling of having found the best the world can give. All the great names of English literature became familiar to me in those pages, and much of the best that the men and women there represented had given to the world.

I did not find another work such as Robert Chambers had provided for me; but many another book I read, often to the disgust of my father, I suspect. On one occasion he sent me into the corn with horse and cultivator, and when he saw the horse standing for hours in the fence corner he hunted me out, and found me at Mrs. Wheeler's absorbed in one of the stories in the *Ledger*. His appearance brought me back to my work in a hurry, though not without a rather sharp lecture from him. When everything else failed, I reread the few books the house contained, among them Comstock's "Chemistry," a text-book which my mother had pursued in her attendance at an academy for a few months. I read it through from first page to last, and have not regretted that its pages made me in some degree familiar with the theories and terminology of this science before "the new chemistry" had come into existence. One day my father came home with the "Memoirs" of Mary Ware, which he had picked up at some second-hand shop or book-auction. It seemed to me the dryest and most pious of books, quite unaware of the fact that it represented that new theology which had broken out at Harvard College early in the nineteenth

century in the person of Henry Ware, whose second wife was Mary Ware. This was many years before I became a Universalist, and long before I knew anything about theological distinctions. A book on "Family Medicine" which my mother borrowed from a neighbor, and put carefully away for her own private reading, did not fail to come within my reach.

Among the books which I read at this time were several relating to the Indians, western exploration and settlement, and the romance of pioneer adventures. Where I procured these books I do not recall, but two or three of them were published in Cincinnati, which was at that period quite a publishing centre. I do not remember the titles or the names of the authors of these books, but they made me acquainted with the exploration and settlement of the region west of the Alleganies, and with the adventures of Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, and the others who led in the extension of the nation westward. About these men and their adventures there was for me a glamor of romance, and they seemed to me far more romantic in character, much more real as human beings, than any knights and troubadours of whom I have since read abundantly in the works of the medieval era. That whole period has since had for me a charm and a fascination no other in history has been able to produce.

I cannot recall that it ever occurred to me that I was in any manner different from other boys because of this fondness for reading. My father and mother were both eager to read such books as I secured, and gave to them as much time as their work permitted. Perhaps the reason they were not interested in church attendance was because Sunday gave them an opportunity for reading. It was then the pages of the *Tribune* received the closest attention. When I was about fifteen I became a subscriber to the *Phrenological Journal* and read its pages with avidity. For a time I was greatly interested in phrenology, physiognomy, and other sciences connected with the evolution of man. There was much in this journal, pseudo-scientific as it mostly was, which stirred my thoughts, and directed my mind into a wide field of human interest. It was a time when Graham bread was regarded as healthier than any other, and much attention was being directed to hygiene, proper foods, bathing, and other reforms thought to be highly important. Water-cure was the talk of the day in this direction, and I picked up somewhere the five or six volumes of a "Water Cure Library," which I carefully read. The rights of women began to receive attention, and they early attracted my thoughts, with the result that I came to believe in suffrage for women at a period so early that I cannot recall any time when I was not fully convinced of the justice of this demand.

At an early time, probably in my twelfth year, I became interested in shorthand or phonography, first with Pitman's system, and then with that of Graham. I followed up this study for several winters, working at it alone, though with the friendly advice and encouragement of one or two young men in the neighborhood. I never mastered shorthand and soon forgot all I learned. Pitman's phonetics, however, I found helpful, and he made me friendly to a revised system of spelling. It has always seemed to me shameful that we have not made the spelling of the English language easier for millions of school children, who stumble over that accomplishment during every year which passes.

What did make me in some sense different from the other boys about me was that I had at an early time a desire to write, and began to scribble before I could control the pen with any degree of accomplishment. The reforms of the day, the surging thoughts of a new and better life for men and women, became the subjects of my earliest attempts at the expression of what I was feeling and living. When I was about fifteen there came some young men to Galesburg with a crippled press and broken type, and they began the publication of a weekly newspaper. The press demanded much tinkering to make it give forth any impressions whatever, and from time to time the paper did not appear because the tinkering was not successful in persuading that machine to accomplish what was demanded of it. When the paper came forth I frequently contributed to it over the signature of "Shorthand." The thoughts of a boy may be long, long thoughts, as the poet says, but my pieces were short enough, and they were probably thin enough, too. Anyway, I began to scribble, and I have kept at it ever since; but not always with the shortness and thinness of those days.

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

(To be continued.)

Mr. Levinson on the League and the World Court

[In the March 1st issue of the Chicago *Herald Examiner* appeared an interview with Mr. S. O. Levinson, originator and chief protagonist of the Outlawry of War program, on the League of Nations and the World Court. This interview was obviously prepared with care, and is so important as showing the reasons for Mr. Levinson's opposition to American membership in these bodies, that we print it here practically in full. It is a statement calling for the most careful consideration.—Editors.]

Those sincere persons who believe that all chance of our becoming involved in the league of nations has been eliminated and that the world court is honestly a new agency for the abolition of war must rouse themselves to a clear perception of the truth.

The world court is merely one of two particular means which at present are being paraded as effective steps toward permanent international peace, but which in fact are methods for securing the entrance of this country into the involved mechanism of European politics that would rule the world by sheer force—the same militaristic system that led to the last great war and to most other European wars that preceded it.

Mr. Raymond Fosdick, in common with other pro-league advocates of the court, uses the magic name of Mr. Root for his purpose. As a matter of fact, Mr. Root made three important proposals for the court, two provisions of substance and one relating to form.

The latter, which was an ingenious provision for the selection of the judges, was greedily accepted by the league because it gave the league control over the appointment of the judges and gave the council, consisting of ten nations, an absolute veto and an equal power of appointment with the other forty-four nations in the assembly.

The substantial proposals, one for the codification of international law and the other for limited obligatory

jurisdiction over controversies, were both rejected by the league.

Therefore it is literally true that, except for the control by the league over the appointment of a permanent body of judges, there is no difference between the league court and The Hague tribunal, both being arbitration bodies.

It is unfair to the record of Mr. Root not to state the full and significant truth regarding his work and his connection with this league court.

The second means referred to is a peace protocol, which, when accepted by a certain number of the league nations, is to be followed by a disarmament conference.

That protocol is nothing but an amendment of the league designed to strengthen and vitalize the two great articles of force in the league—articles X and XVI.

We are told that the protocol is not to be tendered to the United States for us to sign, but it is desired that we be very considerate of it. It is hinted that we ought not to criticize it, but allow it to be accepted by other nations, so that "the great work of disarmament may proceed."

After the protocol has been adopted the United States will be asked to attend the disarmament conference to be held under the auspices of the league and pursuant to the protocol. We will be urged that it is our duty in the cause of peace to be represented at that conference.

This disarmament scheme, whatever it may be, will be so inextricably interwoven with the league and the protocol that the United States will be accused of defeating world disarmament unless it accepts both the protocol and the league itself.

We would be forced into a seemingly embarrassing position because it will be impossible to carry out the disarmament scheme except by means of the league, and if we then refuse to join the league we will be accused of destroying the opportunity of world disarmament merely because of our selfish unwillingness to bear our share of the burden of bringing about permanent world peace by joining the league and thereby helping to carry out the scheme formulated at the conference.

At the moment, however, the world court is being used as the handiest lever to pry us into the league, and what it really is—a mere tool or creature of the league—is cleverly disguised.

Every judge of the world court is selected by the league and every selection must be confirmed by the council of the league. It is this last body that is at all times in complete control of the whole situation. Composed of representatives of less than a quarter of the members of the league it is, in fact, dominated by three or four of the great powers.

This council, if the United States should accept the world court, would instantly become the most powerful bureaucracy to run the whole world that ever was conceived. And, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, dominance by that council, and by the league as a whole, is based upon the old militaristic theory of force.

The league world court does not affect the institutional status of war or its legality. Under that court war is just as legal now as it ever was.

We are told that we can make no mistake by entering the court because that court can only gain jurisdiction over the parties to a dispute by their permission. That very fact, however, makes the name court a misnomer.

The only exception in favor of compulsory hearing is to force Germany to fulfill the Versailles treaty. Only through that treaty has the court any of the jurisdiction indispensable to a real court, and that is claimed by Germany to have been done under duress.

Until the whole war system is rooted out of the league no court subservient to it can be a real court. A true court must base its decisions on known law, not on compromise, political expedience or force.

Until European nations are willing to say that the institution of war shall not be used for any purpose at any time, we ought not to involve ourselves in their political machinery.

What we want Europe to realize is that war should not be considered ever as a legal method for settling any international dispute. No matter what the question involved may be, the cost of fighting a war to settle it is in money alone vastly greater than the amount involved in any dispute.

But the league world court is founded upon the theory of force as expressed in the league itself. It vitalizes an attempt to administer justice by force. That cannot be done. There is no justice inherent in force. There may be protection in force, and that is why this nation should always be prepared for self-defense until civilization has advanced far enough to make such preparation unnecessary. But internationally neither justice nor peace can be attained by force.

Disarmament cannot precede the abolishment of war. That is putting the cart before the horse. If war is abolished, armament beyond the needs of making self-defense certain would disappear because of its uselessness.

A court to decide disputes between nations ought to be founded upon the principle that war, in all cases, is criminal—that it is against the law. There is no necessity for attempting to classify different kinds of war. All war should be defined as being against the law of nations.

The principle of self-defense is too deeply inherent in mankind to need any promulgation as a right. It is clearly recognized as such by nations as well as individuals. Defense is God-given.

The advocates of outlawing war contend that the whole theory of "sanctions" (that is, force) as applied to international relations and sovereign entities is fallacious. And it is this fallacy that perpetuates the rule of force. There are two demonstrations of the fallacy of sanctions.

Consider first contractual treaties or compacts between nations. Assume that nation A enters into such a treaty compact with nation B. How is such treaty to be enforced, or the breach of it punished? Where are the sanctions?

There are three relative positions of strength in which the nations A and B may stand, namely:

1. A may be the exact equal of B.
2. A may be stronger than B.
3. A may be weaker than B.

In the first supposition manifestly neither can enforce the compact or punish the other for its breach. In the second B cannot enforce or punish. In the third A cannot enforce or punish. Thus it is clear that sanctions are not feasible or possible in contractual treaties.

Will anybody assert that in international relations the method of making contracts by treaty is "visionary and idealistic" and should be abandoned because it is impossible to provide satisfactory sanctions? On the contrary, every one must concede that contractual

treaties mark the highest status and advance of international relations.

The second illustration which can be offered is even more direct. The use of force in international relations is always tantamount to some form of military alliance. This is shown by articles X and XVI of the league, and articles XI, XII and XIII of the recent protocol, the latter articles clearly being intended to re-enforce and vitalize the former.

Provision is made in article XIII of the protocol for special treaties of alliance that shall be registered and published. Recently a suggested military alliance among Great Britain, France and Germany caused considerable comment.

Suppose a military alliance to be formed among those three great nations. Then suppose a crisis arises and Germany calls upon Great Britain and France for assistance; or France calls on Great Britain and Germany; or Great Britain calls on France and Germany. Then suppose that in such a case neither of the allies responds to the call. Such things have happened, even in recent history.

How is such an alliance to be enforced? Where are the sanctions? How can there possibly be any sanctions for any military alliance whatever?

This alleged greatest of all measures for security, this European method of administering peace and justice, is found, on critical analysis, to be wholly devoid of sanctions and therefore "visionary and idealistic!"

What does all this mean?

It means that any arrangement, call it league, protocol, alliance or treaty, must in the last analysis rest upon good faith of the parties involved to be effective. It is a common proverb that the affairs of life hinge upon confidence. This is an adage the nations must learn and trust.

Such a World Court as the league World Court that is a creature of the council of the league is not founded in good faith on the proposition to abolish war. If it were, the proposition that all war is against the law of nations would be laid down formally as the primary law to be administered by that court.

War would be outlawed as a means of settling any international dispute whatever, and that would be done definitely and clearly in a few words, just as slavery was outlawed in this country in two lines.

If that were done through *plebiscites in the nations,* and if the World Court were wholly detached from the league of nations, with a code of international law as its basis for the decisions in cases brought before it, much of the opposition to it would instantly disappear.

But as the league World Court exists it is unworthy the name of World Court at all, and is but a means for luring the United States *into the league of nations by a* devious road.

It is but a creature of the league of nations, a means of strengthening the power of the council of the league, which is in its conception an invincible bureaucracy, dominated by a few of the great powers that would rule the whole world by means of the militaristic war system that has proved so detrimental to peace and the progress of civilization for centuries.

If the United States should accept the alluring promises held out as the real purposes of the World Court and should become part of it, it would surely be called upon to submit questions of foreign debts and counter claims owed to this country to that court for revision and final adjudication, it would find itself drawn into the league itself and ultimately involved in all the diplomatic machinations and entanglements of old world politics—no different now in their aim for increased power and their subservience to the doctrine that might is right than they have been for centuries.

And ultimately this country, misled by foreign protestations, might in its misguided efforts for permanent peace become involved in another European war.

A Speech to Children

To-day I am going to speak to the people I love best in the world, the little children of the whole world, not only little Indian children, but little white children, little black children and little yellow children. Childhood is a wonderful thing, it is a thing that cannot be divided by the quarrels of the older people; it is a thing without race, without hate—a thing of love, and the children of the world are going to be the golden born between all the races that inhabit this great Colony of South Africa. To you little children, dear little children, I am going to speak. Yesterday I was speaking to little boys and girls in Maritzburg, and I told them exactly what I am going to tell you to-day.

You are all school-children, and I believe you are going to have a photograph of me to keep. When you look at this photograph you must say to yourselves "this is the friend of all the children of the world. This old lady is really the friend and playmate of all children in South Africa, England, Norway, Italy, everywhere wherever there is a child it is the friend of this little old lady sitting in the chair."

Why am I the friend of all little children? Because nearly 2,000 years ago there was a Man who lived in Palestine who said "Suffer little children to come unto Me, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven." Out of all the world there was a Man called Jesus Christ who said "Let the little children come to me," not rich people, or clever people, or soldiers, but just little children.

What is the Kingdom of Heaven? It is not beyond the skies; it is in the hearts of little children, because little children have not learned what I am sad to think older people have learned—to be uncharitable, and full of quarrels. Directly you become selfish, become sordid, you lose your right to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. God has made this country of South Africa very beautiful. There are birds with red heads, and birds with long black tails, and butterflies colored like flowers, with red wings, purple wings, green wings; trees that have lovely flowers; waterfalls that fall like lace on the mountains. God must want little children living in such a beautiful country to speak beautiful words and say beautiful things always, otherwise they would not be worthy of living in such a country.

If I could choose, I cannot because I am old, I would choose to be a little Indian boy or girl living in this beautiful Colony of Natal, and if I were one I would say to myself, "My grandfathers and grandmothers came here to help the settlers, the white men of this country, to build up this beautiful country. They said

let us work in this land, let us make gardens of it, let us help our white brothers to make sugar-farms." And I would say after two or three generations "we are citizens of South Africa, it is our land, our country. It is our land as much as it is the land of our friend the Native, also of the Englishman and the Dutchman."

If I say I am an Indian as well as a citizen of South Africa then I must say "I must love every other community in this country as much as I love myself." To the little white children, to the little black children, and to the little colored children I must say "you are my friends, whatever I have I will be glad to share it with you."

Our Indian blood tells us, we must not be selfish, but try to live in friendship with everybody else. How do you do it? By making your hearts so full of love and kindness that every unkind person, every uncharitable person, seeing your kindness, must in turn become kind himself.

That is what a very great man who once lived in Durban many years ago said. If you knew that wonderful great little man in India, who long ago lived here in Durban and later at Johannesburg and now in India, you would know that wherever he lives he has only one message to the world. Mahatma Gandhi, that is he. He is so small, and so weak, yet his soul is so big and his heart is so strong that all the seas round Durban are not so big as his soul, nor all the mountains round Durban so strong as his heart. He says "I will conquer you by love; you may rob me, beat me, kill me, I will pardon the wrong you do me."

He gives this message to the children because he says the older people will not listen to him. Because they are greedy and selfish, they make wars, and then brave young men die. And the little children of the world have to stop this. So the first thing you have to do is to learn what Mahatma Gandhi sent me here to teach you and all the people of South Africa. When you are school-children you are really much cleverer than your parents because you have now a better chance than your parents have had and a better chance than my parents could give me. You must make the best of the opportunity of becoming good little souls. There are lessons you cannot learn at school except from one another; you can learn to be kind to one another, and to help one another. Always say "If I am stronger I have to help the weaker boy or girl both in play and in work." In school you must create among yourselves such a beautiful atmosphere of truth, of kindness, of courage, of helping one another, that directly any boy or girl says what is not true and does what is not kind, or tells a lie, you will all stand up and say to that boy or girl "we will not have you in our midst; you are a disgrace to us." This is called honor, and honor is a beautiful thing. Sometimes people do us honor, but that is not enough, we must earn the honor given to us. The people have done me honor in coming here in such large numbers, but doing honor to me is a very different thing from my being worthy of honor. If I have unkind thoughts in my heart to any one then I am not worthy of honor. If I have no unkind thoughts then I am worthy of honor, and that knowledge would make me so that it would not matter whether anyone came to hear me or not. Then I should really have that sense of honor that makes human beings glad to worship God in this beautiful country and this wonderful world. The flowers praise Him in their glory, but God loves nothing so much as His little children, who are the flowers of His Kingdom, the sunbeams of His Heaven, so that it does not matter if you are Indian or African, Dutch or English, rich or poor, you are the people of the world. You are going to say "We will not live in a country where there is division between race and race, where there is hatred and selfishness." When you love the whole world, the whole world will be full of peace and of joy.

Natal Mercury. —*Mrs. Naidu.*

THE STUDY TABLE

A New Book on Russia

This book* presents an interesting problem of unconscious mental conflict. The author, Mr. Hullinger, went to Russia in 1921 and remained there for over two years as the correspondent of the United Press. He is a trained journalist who journeyed to the land of the Bolsheviki not only under instructions from his employers to find out and report the truth, but also with all the instincts of his own essentially honest mind aroused to this same purpose. This book, written after his expulsion from the country on the charge of sending out information not sanctioned by the government, shows little trace of resentment or hard feeling. I have seldom read a book which conveyed a nobler atmosphere of integrity and fairness. Mr. Hullinger was indefatigable in his search for information in Russia. He travelled far and delved deep, and he tells the story of what he saw and learned, in fascinating journalistic style and with a perfectly clear determination to tell the truth without prejudice or concealment. Nobody can read this book without feeling great respect for its author.

On the other hand, Mr. Hullinger, just because of his unquenchable honesty, shows every evidence in his writing of living altogether outside the world in which the Soviets are today functioning. We know nothing about his birth, training and experience, but it is evident enough that the working classes of the world are unknown by him, that he is unfamiliar with the labor movements of the last century, that he is afraid of revolution, and that he inevitably regards what has transpired in Russia as something unnatural and therefore monstrous. In other words, Mr. Hullinger is bourgeois through and through. It is amusing to note from casual references scattered all through the book how naturally in Russia he gravitated into the society of former dukes and princesses. He refers to these people without the slightest sign of pose and refers to them without a word of boasting. There is nothing of the snob in this man. But just because he takes no pride in having known these people, do his repeated references to them as the companions of his days and nights in the new Russia, take on significance. It is with the aristocrats and the intellectuals that he belongs. As the world is now ordered this is not at all to his discredit, but it reveals a state of mind toward Russia, ordered as she is otherwise, which inevitably has its effect upon his interpretation of the Bolsheviks.

Nowhere in this book do I see any evidence that the

* "The Reforging of Russia," by Edwin Ware Hullinger. Published by E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1925.

author is conscious of this conflict in his own mind—that he is an outsider looking in upon a world which is utterly alien alike to his sympathy and understanding! It is for this reason that I have referred to the conflict as an unconscious one; but it colors the whole volume and presents the standpoint from which its worth as a source book on Russia must be judged. Once this standpoint is attained, Mr. Hullinger's work is seen to be of great importance. The range of his experience, as we have said, was remarkable. The mere facts which he sets down about the new economic policy, the relation of the government to the peasantry, the life among the people, religion, morals, art, etc., are amazing for their fullness and definiteness. The economic and industrial problem especially is set forth here more clearly than we have seen it stated anywhere else. We get in this book, also, a better picture of the daily existence of men and women than I have found on any other printed page. Again and again I have been able to check up from my own evperience in Moscow in 1922 the statements made by Mr. Hullinger and I have found them as correct as they are picturesque. Furthermore, this is the latest report from Russia, and therefore contains more information than is anywhere else available. In this regard the book is destined to be superceded with the passing of time, but it will remain for years to come as one of the authoritative treatises on the Russia of 1921-23.

It is probable that this book sets forth the worst that can be said about Russia by a man who will not lie, who hates propaganda, and who seeks to be unprejudiced and honest. That the story is not more terrible is evidence afresh that most of what we hear about the Bolsheviki is plain down-right falsehood.

J. H. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

BORGLUM AS AGENT OF THE FATES

Editor of UNITY:

Gutzon Borglum, the famous sculptor, has had a quarrel with the committee which engaged him to carve a gigantic monument in honor of the Southern Confederacy on the side of Stone Mountain near Atlanta; and the quarrel became so bitter that Mr. Borglum not only told the committee that he thought them a bad lot, not representing the best sentiment of the South, but smashed the models of the statues designed for the Memorial, and with his superintendent left the place, at last accounts, being pursued by the police in behalf of the committee. Meantime the committee is short of funds for the proposed monument, and short of a sculptor, and is sending out frantic appeals to southern governors not to let the project languish.

Isn't the best thing the project can do to languish? Isn't it better for all concerned to view the crisis which Mr. Borglum has precipitated as an "act of God," call off any stone-cutters still at work, and distribute any possible balance in their treasury among the "Daughters of the Confederacy" or any similar bodies dear to their hearts?

The whole idea was preposterous, mischievous, and wildly out of date; and the monument was singularly misplaced, close to the home of Henry W. Grady. The last thing that red-blooded and forward-looking men of the South ought to do or desire is to build monstrous monuments to the "Lost Cause" and perpetuate on the everlasting hills reminders of sectional hatred and strife. It was an ill-conceived and untimely performance; and those who were in it should accept graciously this wink of the gods. Let them recall the spirit of Robert E. Lee. As General Grant said, "Let us have Peace." That is the word inscribed on the monument of the great victor in the war; and that is the idea to be cherished in every heart, both in the North and in the South.

Boston, Mass. BRADLEY STONE.

THE CIVIL WAR AGAIN

Editor of UNITY:

A recent issue of UNITY contained a letter signed by W. B. Chapman which called to mind a conversation held with a Southern kinsman of mine just before the United States entered the Great War.

A heated argument as to our duty in the matter resolved itself, naturally, for me, a pacifist, into a discussion of war in general as a method of settling disputes whether internal or international.

My opponent, usually a most courteous man, finally lost patience, exasperated by my position, incomprehensible to the "practical" mind, and flung at me tauntingly as a Northerner, "Well, how about our Civil War?" To which I replied that it seemed to me perhaps the most unnecessary of all wars, convinced, as I felt, that had the Southern States been allowed to "go in peace" the logic of the industrial conditions of the period would have led them before long to abandon slavery and ultimately to seek return to the Union for the sake of their own social and economic development.

Somewhat to my surprise my kinsman, recovering from the temporary shock of such lack of Northern "patriotism," said that he believed I was right, that he had often thought as much himself. As he was and is a man of large affairs, concerned in much of the most important economic development of the Southern states, I felt his acknowledgment to be at least interesting, and, from some acquaintance with other thoughtful Southerners during certain years of residence in the South sometime since, I believe his position to be by no means unique.

Alas for all the years of personal and sectional bitterness, of suffering for our black brothers, and of wretched political degradation that yielding to conquer might have avoided!

RUTH S. BALDWIN.

ONE LAST WAR?

Editor of UNITY:

When I read in UNITY and other papers about the "outlawry of war" it makes me smile, and I say to myself, "God is not to be mocked."

How can there be peace in Christendom, that Christendom which allows the Turks to perpetrate the most hideous cruelties on helpless Christians; that Christendom whose representatives went down on their knees (figuratively speaking) at the Lausanne Conference and kissed the crime gangrened feet of those Turks?

The Turks have taken their victims by the millions, and they still continue to feed on Christian flesh and blood; but why is the church of Christendom, why is the press of Christendom, silent on the horror?

Kobe, Japan. DIANA AGABEG APCAR.

THE RADIO AND THE CHURCHES

[We print the following letter, originally addressed to and printed in the *Christian Century*, as impressive evidence of what the radio is doing to the churches. We have long been convinced that the radio is a menace of the first order to the churches, as indeed to all other public gathering places. Even in this early stage of its development, with broadcasting in its infancy, it is fast emptying the country churches, as witness this letter. We have evidence of a country church with an average congregation of some forty persons, fifteen of whom on a certain Sunday were at home listening over the radio to a city preacher. What has begun in the country, however, is certain to work the same results, sooner or later, in the city. Indeed, indications are already appearing that the afternoon and evening congregations in our city churches are being depleted by the broadcasters. Here is a tremendous problem. The radio is here to stay—A receiving set will soon be as common as the telephone. What is going to happen to the churches?—J. H. H.]

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Armenia.—The Colony of Armenians founded and maintained by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation in Syria is making good progress. Situated in French territory at Tel Samen between two tributaries of the Euphrates, it consists now of about 200 Armenians who have been warmly welcomed by Hadjim Pasha, the friendly chief of the largest Bedouin tribe, and enabled to settle down amid a friendly Mahommedan population. A good start was made during last season with the tillage of land by the help of a tractor brought across the desert. An irrigation scheme now adds to the prospects of further success next season.

Alongside of the agricultural work there must be developed other handicrafts; the education of the children must be provided for. Under wise and strong leadership there are fine opportunities for developing understanding between the Christian Armenian settlers and the surrounding Mahommedans.

It is this wise leader who is now required. Until now Miss Karen Jeppe, Commissioner of the League of Nations, with the assistance of the Armenian, Misrak, has supervised the affairs of the colony. By next summer a resident leader should take full charge. Someone with experience of practical leadership, speaking French and with the capacity for learning Armenian, is required. Funds are needed for developing the settlement. The Swedish group of the Movement is responsible for the organization. Communicate either with Dr. Beskow, Djursholm, Sweden, or with the International Office, 16 Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1.

* * *

Czecho-Slovakia.—*Persecution of Pacifists.*—The Censor has again confiscated a pacifist book called "In the Steps of Tolstoi," by V. F. Bulgakoff, formerly Tolstoi's secretary. The editor of *Sbratreni* (Brotherhood) was prosecuted for supporting soldiers who refused military service on religious and ethical grounds. The words of the Apostle Peter: "We ought to obey God rather than men" (Acts v. 29) quoted in *Sbratreni* were deleted by the censor. Three C.O.s. were condemned to increased terms of strict military confinement, one of them being eventually ordered to do fifteen months' service as clerk in a hospital, and the other two being discharged as unfit after a year in prison. Przemysl Pitter, the leader of the "New Jerusalem" group, was arrested on a charge of sedition after a public meeting in which he denounced the Ministry of War, and has been refused permission to leave Prague.

* * *

Finland. — *Conscientious Objection.* — Uno Harald Laine refused, on account of his Christian principles, to do military service, and has already spent 22 months in different prisons. He was brought before a Tribunal on Dec. 31, 1924, for the third time and sentenced to three months' imprisonment in a civil prison as his period of military service had expired in the spring of 1923. With high courage he left his mother who is dying of consumption and his small brother who is unprovided for. A few friends in the Fellowship of Reconciliation are agitating on his behalf and hope to obtain his release.

* * *

Germany.—The formation of the so-called "Ersatz" (Substitute) Government is politically less important than the non-evacuation of the Cologne zone. Article 429 of the Treaty of Versailles had provided for the evacuation of that zone to begin on January 10 on condition that Germany should have faithfully met her obligations imposed by the Treaty. The reports of the Control Commissions have convinced the Allied Governments that Germany can be accused of not having fulfilled her obligations in respect of disarmament, and that they are therefore entitled to postpone the evacuation. These allegations are bound to have very serious consequences for Germany. Numerous important public statements concerning the circumventing of the disarmament order have already been made by individual members of the Control Commission (amongst others the report of the British General Morgan, published in German by the League for the Rights of Man, obtainable through "Die Menschheit," Gartenstrasse 42, Wiesbaden). Even though the cases objected to seem of little importance in view of the huge armaments of Europe, they are nevertheless an expression of the implacable spirit which still actuates large numbers of the German people, and should give pause to those who really want peace.

On the other hand, these events raise once more with some urgency the question as to whether it is possible to disarm a nation for any length of time by force. The result of non-evacuation will certainly be to strengthen nationalist and militarist thought in Germany and in the world. The German Nationalists propose to defend themselves against violence by invoking the aid of violence on their behalf, and some of them really believe in the innocence of their motives. Thus the danger of a war being plotted in secret by the most carefully engineered methods of fraud becomes greater than ever. It should be added that it is much easier now than formerly to make and to disguise preparations for a modern war of poison gas. Occupying forces can make it more difficult but not impossible.

Unless European politics succeed in disarming the minds of people, there will be no peace. And that can only be achieved through a disarmed Europe. No Nationalistic German group could involve the Ger-

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A COUNTRY PREACHER TO HIS CITY BRETHREN

Editor the CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

Sir: The country preacher struggles along now with perhaps more difficulty than ever before experienced. It is the day of big things, and when with the material at hand you are unable to build a mighty machine, or a great structure of towering height in the community, the smallness of the work tends to make it less attractive and the consequent results are the waning of interest, and the ultimate removal of the pastor, voluntarily or otherwise. Rural churches suffer because of the good roads and the automobiles; small town churches suffer because of the inability of the minister sufficiently to interest the members in Christ, he not having a mighty generator of a church organization and machine sufficiently to charge the lives of his parishioners. But where does the city pastor enter this discussion, and what part does he play in the program of the small country town church?

It is just this. I refer to the radio-broadcasting pastors. The radio-broadcasting pastor has once lived in the smaller place, or else has had smaller charges than he now has, and through the years he has endeavored to bring men and women, young people, and children, into the church services that they might enjoy fellowship in the services, and the sweet communion of this association which can be found nowhere else. He has taught the value of this association to his listeners wherever he has gone, but now he has attained greater heights, and the demand for his sermons has grown until he has forgotten the struggles of the country pastor, and contentedly places a microphone before himself on Sunday morning or evening, in his regular services, when his brethren throughout the country are endeavoring to hold services and are diligently working for the attendance of the members of the church, friends, and through the microphone and receiving sets this pastor, who once knew the struggle of the country pastor to bring people together, induces people to stay away from the services in the house of God.

I am not asking that the city preachers cease to preach over the radio. The radio can be made a great blessing. I am not so selfish as to wish to do all the preaching to my parishioners. In fact, I would like to hear a great sermon occasionally myself. But I do believe that those who do so preach should preach at an hour when they will not hinder the attendance at the services of the smaller churches throughout the country. Now, Mr. City Pastor, think it over. It is a serious question and we are sure you have not viewed the matter from our angle, and we believe that nothing but a Christian spirit will settle the question under the present status of the radio system. Surely you do not expect the country preacher to solve as big a problem as this. Folks stay away from church and listen in not really realizing how much harm is being done to themselves, the church, and the community. You have been, and are, preaching to some of these folks and you have not realized how much the church has suffered from the divided attention. Will you not in the spirit of Christ think seriously upon this question, and pray earnestly, and act in a brotherly fashion?

Coleman, Tex. —*J. W. McKinney.*

man people in a war against a disarmed Europe. But a Germany disarmed by force is a perpetual menace of war to armed Europe.

* * *

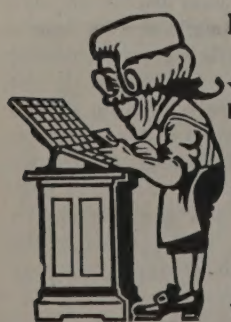
Italy.—*Fascism and Freedom.*—With Mussolini's "fighting speech" early in January Fascism came out into the open. The *Corriere della Sera,* the paper of highest character in Italy, of liberal views, has been suppressed, the electorate has been "cooked" by the allocation of extra votes to those electors who are known to be favorable to Mussolini, and no State employee is allowed, on pain of dismissal, to belong to a secret society. The latter regulation is directed against Freemasonry, which in earlier days supported Mazzini and Garibaldi, and now champions liberty of speech and action. It is hoped thus to conciliate the Vatican. A meeting on January 15 of about forty members of the Opposition, including Giolitti, Salandra and Orlando, urged the necessity for passing a vote of no confidence in the Government. Orlando's speech in the debate of the Italian Chamber on January 16 was equivalent to such a vote of censure, but the "packed" nature of the Chamber is evident from the fact that a vote of confidence was passed by 303 votes to 33.

* * *

Poland.—*The Polish Association of Friends of Peace (Warsaw),* founded before the war to promote international arbitration and understanding and social justice, has resumed its activities after the interruption of the war and desires to enter into relations with pacifist organizations in neighboring countries.

* * *

Switzerland.—*Civilian Service Work.*—The work at Someo referred to in the December News Sheet was satisfactorily terminated after seven weeks of arduous work. The number of volunteers at work rose to 150, and in all some 300 persons took part. Help was also enlisted all over the country in sifting applicants and in providing funds. Groups were drafted off to neighboring villages which had also suffered from the landslide. Many who came, actuated chiefly by the element of adventure or the opportunity of free board and lodging, found a real joy in work done without thought of reward. With regard to future work, a French village, Novel, across the lake from Lausanne, which was recently burnt down, is under consideration. Help will be needed by the inhabitants in spring to clear the débris and rebuild. The Mayor of the village was much moved by the proposal and it is probable that, as at Someo, board and lodging would be provided by the Commune.



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